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ДА ГІСТОРЫІ НАЗОВА ЧАСАПІСА „ВЕЧА“

Прыблізна пяць год таму назад я зьвярнуўся да тых Беларусаў, якія я думаў змогуць стаць маральнай дый матар'яльнай базай беларускай дэмакратычнай газэты. Большасьць, да каго мы зьвярнуліся, падтрымалі ідэю; за выключэньнем аднаго, які адказаў негатыўна, адзін — пэсымістычна-саркастычна, пару — зусім не адказалі; большасьць бачылі, як вельмі патрэбная справа; толькі ніхто не хацеў браць аніякай адказнасьці.

Каб заахвоціць беларускіх журналістаў, была выдрукавана пробная газэта без назову, на кожнай бачыне было паказана: якія тэмы будуць друкавацца, зварот, як газэту назваць дый што друкаваць.

Таму, што Вялікае Княжаства Літоўскае было Беларускім гаспадарствам, але Беларусы сёньня вельмі мала прыпамінаюць сабе дый чужынцам пра нашае прошлае, я хацеў скарочана ўжываць назоў для газэты, „Вялітва-Беларусь, дый толькі для газэты. Мая прапанова, вусна дый пісьмова, была адкінута. Большасьць былі за тое, каб газэта называлась: Беларускі, Беларуская плюс якісь назоўнік.

Год, ці штось каля гэтага, таму назад Сп. К. Якуб, прапанаваў мне, каб супольна, выдаваць мастацка-літаратурны часапіс, „Беларускае Веча“. Посьле некалькі перапісак, я рашыў выдаваць часапіс больш грамадзкага характару, прынамся напачатку.

Посьле парадаў Сп. Даніловіча (Золак) я рашыў выдаваць часапіс пад назваю „Веча“, назоў адпаведаіць зьместу і замеру выдаўца.

Дзякую ўсім тым, хто мне дапамог падабраць назоў гэнага часапіса.

Др. П. Маркоўскі

SILENCE AND MISINTERPRETATION OF THE TRUTH ARE THE NORMS OF THE DICTATORSHIP.

THE SATELLITE COUNTRIES OF MOSCOW ARE ASSERTING THAT COMMUNISM CAME TO ROMANIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA FROM THEIR OWN PEOPLE, BUT WAS NOT BROUGHT BY THE RED ARMY.

THE SAME SITUATION EXISTS IN BYELORUSSIA S.S.R. PROVOCATIONS OF THE SOVIET QUERILLAS IN BYELORUSSIA DURING WORLD WAR II WERE PATRIOTIC ACTS, BUT NOT THE IRRESPONSIBLE PROVOCATIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF USSR. COMPULSORY COLLECTIVIZATION OF BYELORUSSIAN VILLAGES WAS VOLUNTARY, BUT NOT COMPULSORY. THE TERROR IN 1933 WAS SIMPLY A NECESSARY PURGE OF A HANDFUL OF GERMAN AND POLISH AGENTS, BUT NOT BECAUSE OF THE FEAR BEFORE THE PEOPLE, AND THE FEAR FOR THEIR OWN POSITIONS.

MR. KOSIAK AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE „SECOND ALL-BYELORUSSIAN CONGRESS" DEVOTED A QUARTER OF A CENTURY AND ALL THEIR ENERGY TO PROVE THAT BLACK WAS WHITE. THIS IS ONE OF THE REASONS WHY THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE BYELORUSSIAN CENTERS ABROAD, REPRESENTED BY THEM, COLLAPSED. BYELORUSSIAN POLITICAL EMMIGRANTS CAN DO WRONG THINGS, BUT IS NOT ALLOWED TO TALK ABOUT THEM. THEY ARE ESPECIALLY SENSETIVE TO WRITINGS ABOUT THEM WHEN SOME WRITTER, OR ANYBODY ELSE, IN B.S.S.R. OR U.S.S.R. TELLS THE TRUTH ABOUT THE SOVIET REALITY, THEN BYELORUSSIAN POLITICAL EMMIGRANTS CANNOT STOP REJOICING.

FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION AND FOR THOSE OLDER BYELORUSSIANS WHO ARE STILL HIPNOTIZED BY THE HOME-MADE DICTATORS, AN ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURS OF THE FOLLOWERS OF THE "SECOND ALL-BYELORUSSIAN CONGRESS" IS GIVEN BELOW.

NOTE: The discours is printed in italics, introduction, analysis and the conclusion are printed in the regular print.

DISCOURS

TO BYELORUSSIAN PEOPLE IN ENSLAVED BYELORUSSIA AND TO BYELORUSSIANS IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE FREE WORLD

Twenty-five years ago in the city of Miensk, capital of Byelorussia, convened the Second All-Byelorussian Congress. It took place under unusually difficult circumstances. At that time Byelorussia was in the midst of the military action of World War II in its most dreadful form. Giant armies of Soviet Russia and Germany were engaged in the armed struggle for the rule over Byelorussia.

Dearest Kosiak, what is the need for letting smoke into the eyes, are we going to learn anything this way? Would not be better to begin the way it really was twenty-five years ago. 25 years ago on German initiative, covented the "Second All-Byelorussian Congress".

German government, under dictatorship of Hitler, considered Eastern Europe, including Byelorussia, as "Lebensraum" destined by fate for the German people. He strived to conquer and to colonize these regions, and to transform the native peoples into comon slaves of the Germans. From the middle of 1941 Byelorussia completely experienced this opressive policy of colonization.

Very well that the signatories of the discourse knew Hitler's plans. If you knew, then you should have never become the assistants of the German plans. To a deep regret Byelorussian people, particularly peasants, were not aware of this. Byelorussian people waited for liberation and obviously are still waiting till this day. The war punished Byelorussians severely, but did not teach most of them.

The government of Soviet Russia considered Byelorussia as an inseperable part of the Russian empire. It fought against German attack, but simultaneously it was destroying all manifestations of Byelorussia national, liberational aspirations to secure a lasting Soviet Russian rule over Byelorussia.

Russian patriotism developed into chauvinizm and even fascism. Hated of everything non-Russian and destruction of everything non-

Russian, all the more of anti-Russian, became the norm of the Russian psychics. Russians, in the majority, cannot and are not trying to understand others.

(From London) Polish government in exile was directing the organization and the activities af the Polish National Undergaound Army, acting secretly in western Byelorussia. The armed bands of this army were liquidating active Byelorussian national patriots. Under favorable circumstances they were supposed to help militarily to retain part of Byelorussia in the borders of the restored Polish state.

Who is guilty, the Polish government in exile in London or the polonized Byelorussian Roman Catholic traitors who joined the Polish National Underground Army?(!)

Anti-communist Russians were striving to retain Russian influences in Byelorussia with the aim of restoring the indivisible Russian empire which would include Byelorussia.

Anti-communist Russians not only strived to have their influences, they had them. What devil if not Byelorussians helped the Russians. In 1941 Byelorussians were hiding Russian prisoners of war who later became the Soviet guerillas and began to provok Germans. This communist band would bill a mere German, and Germans together with the local Byelorussian policemen (there were many Russians in the police force, even here we could not get aling without them) would burn the entire village with older people and children. What devil if not Byelorussians filled the ranks of the Vlasov Army. Is not it time to look at what we were doing and are doing now.

At that time Byelorussian people were in a very difficult situation. Previous policy of occupation of Soviet Russia in Eastern Byelorussia, were destroying Byelorussian national patriotic leaders and active rank and file members by mass terror and were not permiting the growth of Byelorussian national awareness and organized activities. Russianization on one side and Polonization on the other were striving to destroy Byelorussian people spiritually and to assimilate it with Russians in the East and with Poles in the West. The economical oppression of Byelorussians under Polish occupation and the collectivization and communizatian of Byelorussians under Russian occupation, deprived Byelorussians of their own independent economical base and pushed them down to a state of a passive vegetation in the backyards of the foreign

That what you said at the beginning, my dear signatories, is known for more than a century. I cannot understand one thing, if they pushed us down to the state of a passive vegetation (to exist as a withering plant) in the backyards of the foreign oppression, then why do we continue to be the same here in emigration? Look at other nationalities, they are note vegetaing, they are being envied by the local population. South River Byelorussian center in the U.S.A. is a typical vegetational center in the foreign backyard. I call our Byelorussians here the white negroes. Here is the whole secret, Ivan Ivanovich, if you with faultless Father Lapitzki would help local Byelorussians with your wisdom, if you would drive out the state fo vegetation, then there would not be any reason to criticize you. If even unwillingly, yet the truth must be told, because this is the aim of this magazine. Both of you are performing the function of a stick in the spokes of a wheel and are helping to vegetate, and yet aspiring to presidents and bishops.

Notwithstanding the difficult internal and external situation, Byelorussians spontaneously began the work and struggle for their national rights. Numerically a small group of the survivors of Byelorussian national leaders, immediately after German occupation, began the struggle with the communist Russian armed bands in the east, and with the Polish armed bands in the Western part of Byelorussia, for capturing of the local administration. German occupational authorities were solving Byelorussian national affaires in their own way. At the beginning they were isolating and liquidating Jewish population in Byelorussia. Later they from time to time were liquidating either Polish or Byelorussian national leadership in different localities, weakening in this way dangerous for them activity of Byelorussians and Poles.

Here you are right that Byelorussian national leadership was numerically small, therefore they could not become the leaders of the nation and could not give the right resistance to two hostile forces: Berlin and Moskow.

In the fall of 1941 arrived German civilian administration as a permanent colonial apparatus. It took over all administration of the country from the top to county levels. Local population was permitted only in the helping posiation. Whole life of the country was subordinated to German needs. None of the independent national and political activ-

ities of Byelorussians were allowed. Organized by Byelorussians, Byelorussian Red Cross was converted by Germans into Byelorussian People's Self-help which was subjected to a strict German control. Permitted to exist, Byelorussian Orthodox Autocephalic Church did not receive back all church property and did not have any help from the government. The Church could only condact the services and hadle the religious ceremonies. The Church was forbiden to conduct educational, cultural, and civic activities.

All natural resorces of the country, iacluding land, were considered as German property and the local population was permitted to use them only temporarily.

Hitler's plans were known before 1941. To a deep regret, 99.9% of Byelorussians did not have the slightest knowledge of Hitler's plans. What can we do? Byelorussian national leadership was numerically small, Byelorussian Movement did not move far from its original stage. I would like to ask myself and others, how much do we know today about those plans which were and are now being prepared for us by our neighbours and by our fuehrers?

From the national side Germans considered Byelorussia as a country populated by the Byelorussian people. Therefore they permitted here Bylorussian language in the local administration, schools, courts, church and in the cultural life, in place of previously existing Russian language in the occupied by Russia part of Byelorussians and Polish language in the occupied by Poland part of Byelorussia. Byelorussians were admitted to the organizing and the administering of only the lower part of life. Nevertheless, even such circumstances gave the opportunity for the Byelorussian national growth.

I do not know why, but here you are trying to pull the wool over the eyes. Byelorussian language was permited in administration, schools, court only in the Byelorussian Commissariat which by its territory equalled only one tenth of the true territory of Byelorussia.

Victories of Soviet armies forced the Germans to retreat ta the west. By the end of 1945 the front line was already in the eastern part of Byelorussia and it was obvious that soon the entire country will be ocupied by the Soviet army. At this time the conditions became such that they made it possible to create the Byelorussian Central Council

and to convoke the Second All-Byelorussian Congress. Permitting the creation of the Byelorussian Central Council with some powers in the administrative functions and with the right to create the Byelorussian National Guard (Defense) in the last months of their occupation, Germans wanted not so much to attract the sympaties of Byelorussian people to themselves, as to create, beneficial to themselves, internal difficultis for the approaching new Soviet Russian occupation, through considerable strengthening of the Byelorussian national organized activities. Byelorussians, with enthusiasm, proceeded to national and state activities in such a critical time to create the independent political and military base, hoping for the help for self-determination of peoples by the victorious countries of the western world. During the short time of activities of the Byelorussian Central Councile, national awareness, organizational life and the activities of Byelorussian people developed very considerably. In order to base the whole national liberation movement on the broad people's foudations, Byelorussian Central Concil convoked the Second All-Byelorussian Congress.

In 1943 the Soviet-German front was not in the eastern part of Byelorussia, as you are saying, because more than half of Byelorussia was in the hands of Moscow executioners. Why Mr. Kosiak you wanted to say: "The conditions developed which permitted the creation of B.C.R. and convoking of the 'Second All-Byelorussian Congress'"? The very fact that the larger part of the territory of Our Country was occupied by the Soviet army, made it impossible for the German commandantes to send people to this "All-Byelorussian Congress" convoked by the Germans. Therefore you are using such a phrase, "the front was in the eastern part of Byelorussia", instead of in the central part of Byelorussia. You admitted that the administrative functions of B.C.R. was granted the permission to create B.N.G. (BKA). Right here Mr. Kosiak and the Lords of Congress Committee is the whole truth. In order to use Byelorussians against Moscow, the Germans this time could not do it alone. During occupation of our country they showed their beastly plans for us. The end and the meaning of the war became clear even to those who did not understand it from the beginning. When in the first instance they were succesful to use us in the desire to see liberators, then in the second instance during the retreat they played on our patriotism and on the fact that Byelorussian leadership in the Byelorussian Commissariat have no choice but to cooperative with the obermenschen.

As it can be seen from your discourse, first was created the B.C.R. and the "Second All-Byelorussian Congress" after. If the affairs were conducted correctly, then the All-Byelorussian Congress should have been convoced at the beginning, and by the Byelorussians themselves, and not by the German commandantes, when the front was near Moscow. This Congress would have created the B.C.R. or something else. Then this Congress would have been All-Byelorussian and you would have no need to muddle the water.

It is the truth that Byelorussians of the Byelorussian Commissariat, but not of all Byelorussian as you are saying, proceeded actively to build the political base. Germans were not as stupid as Byelorussians and Vlasovites thought. Before creating any movement, Germans forsaw into the German accuracy what kind of benefit would have from us.

On June 27, 1944 at the city theater in Miensk, gathered together 1,039 delegates from the whole country, with participation of 16 representatives from Byelorussian associations outside Byelorussia. The Congress listened to the report of R. Astrouski, president of B.C.R., and to the speeches of M. Shkielonak, Vice President of B.C.R., "about considering as null the decisions of the goverments of U.S.S.R. and former Poland which concern Byelorussia, it territory and the people", and A. Kalubovich "about final break of Byelorussia with Moscow and about nullifying of Moscow's voice in Byelorussian affairs". At the Congress many delegates made speeches, gave propositions, and took part in the discussions. All delegates were unanimous in resolving the basic national-state affairs. R. Astrouski was unanimously chosen as President of B.C.R. The resolution of the Congress were adopted unanimously.

On June 27, 1944 "Congress" has not chosen but has confirmed the candidacy of professor Astrouski, appointed by Germans. What kind of elections were these, when a German Commissar had the complete authority to fire or to appoint the president of B.C.R., but not the "Congress"? Why then are you gentlemen muddling the water?

If 25 years ago you were forced to talk like this, then who is forcing you today? The blind ambition? When Germans were organizing the B.C.R., most Byelorussians did not know about such an event. Ask many of those in emigration. Soviet-German front, as a terrible storm, was dancing on the chest and stomach of blood-stained Byelorussia.

Our people were moaning and pulling the hair off their heads, asking — for what, O God, are You punishing us?

The Congress confirmed the Third Statutory Act of the Council of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic about the creation of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic of March 25, 1918. By this decision Congress added the weight to the state-creating act, which was adopted by the numerically small Council of B.N.R., and at the same time, actualized the matter of Byelorussian statehood at current time. The Congress resolutely rejected B.S.S.R. as a foreign Russian form of statehood, by force imposed on Byelorussian people by Moscow usurpers.

The Congress resolved to inform governments and peoples of all countries of the world that the governoment of the U.S.S.R., as created by it, governments of B.S.S.R., do not have the legal power to be the spokesmen in Byelorussian affairs, because they are not recagnized by the Byelorussian people.

Dear Ivan Ivanovich and the signatories, the fact remains that B.C.R. started and fulfilled the same role for Germans as B.S.S.R. for Russians.

The Congress resolved to annul all agreements and decisions of the governments of U.S.S.R. and Poland regarding the territory of Byelorussia and the Byelorussian people, as well as the possible attempts to divide Byelorussia by the governments of other countries.

The Congress recognized the Byelorussian Central Council with President Radaslaŭ Astrouski as the chief executive, as the only legal representative of th eByelorussian people and the country for that time.

Why were not annulled all agreements of Germans? For instance, Germans recognized Ukraine as an independent state during World War I, but recognized part of our Prypyat Marshlands region (Palessia) as part of the Ukraine. During World War II Palessie was annexed to Ukraine again. Blelastok and Horadnia (Grodno) continued to be part of East Prussia then when you were the presidents.

My dear followers of the B.C.R. you were doing the same what did and are doing the followers of B.S.S.R. Northern, Central and South-Eastern parts of Byelorussia belong to the R.S.F.S.R. to this day, and ten millions of Byelorussians are recorded as Russians in their passports. Those who are performing the role of Moscow orderlies

in Miensk are sitting quietly as a mouse under a broom, or are saying what is the difference as long as there is socializm. But it makes a difference for the Russians; they even annexed part of East Prussia to the R.S.F.S.R.

In the short time after the Congress the armies of Soviet Russia again occupied the entire Byelorussia. B.C.R. and a large segment of the people left their country and went to the countries of Western Europe. B.C.R. organized military forces in Germany and continued to fight against Soviet Russia untill the very end of World War II.

After provoking part of Byelorussians into B.K.A. with part of Byelorussians BCR escaped to Germany and there began to provoke for something better. Germans allowed a couple of divisions. In Byelorussia they were afraid to allow us our own army. "Obermenshen" (superior people) were using Byelorussians as a supporting force for the German gendarms with a title of a policeman.

Can we find enough power and ink to describe all tears and hardships of those people whom B.C.R. helped to don the green jacket of the "Obermenschen"?

The victorious countries in this war did not demonstrate any understanding of the national liberation aspirations of the peoples enslaved by Soviet Russia. They have treated this question as an internal affair of Russia. The Government of Soviet Russia restored its B.S.S.R. with all previous wild methods of terrorist-colonial rule in Byelorussia which are existing up to this day.

Not only Byelorussians, but other anti-communists, were hoping for an understanking form the West. One can imagine — after meeting on the river Elbe, Americans and Russians started the war between themselves. The West had all chances to win. The Western Byelorussia would have captured the civilian administration by Polish underground Army, Anders would have arrived with his army. Now he would have found out that many of his fighters were in the service of the German gendarms. Byelorussian civilian administration was antl-Polish. What a terrible end would be for many Byelorussians. Further to the east, the Western countries would consider us as one big Russia, they did not understand it differently then and still do not understand today. The facts we have encountered and experienced in emigration show the irrationality of thinking of the Byelorussian leadership and of the

entire Byelorussian Nation toward the West. Up to this day we still did not recover from all that happend during World War II, and like that guilty baby who just soiled its diapers, are hiding it and are afraid to open a healthy discussion among ourselves. When someone dared to do so, then this "Byelorussian leadership" are consulting among themselves how to finish this brave one.

The things would be different in the Ukraine which had its army-the Ukrainian Insurrection Army (UPA). If the western powers indeed would have come to Ukraine, then the Ukrainan policemen, burgomasters and others would have found a place for themselves in this army. It would have been not so easy for Anders, or even at all impossible, to settle the things with Ukrainians of anti-Polish orientation.

I am leaving the remainder of the discourse for the reader's scrutinity. Try to be independent and objective then you will start to think the way I do.

Thanks to such favorable circumstances Soviet Russia today is territorialy the largest empire in the world. By its policy of conquest of other peoples, and assimilation of them, pushed to gemocide, and thanks to ruling communism, Russia created a huge military force. Now Russia continues further its traditional policy of expansionalizing by various means in the global extent, threatening the independence of the remaining free countries.

The significance of the Second All-Byelorussian Congress as well as of the entire activity and struggle of Byelorussian people during World War II for its national and state independence is enormous.

At this stage of its existance Byelorussian people demonstrated that it survived the great extermination, suppression and assimilation during the last BD *years at the hands of Soviet Russia and Poland.*

By its active struggle Byelorussian people demonstrated the high patriotism, sacrifice and readiniss to use the most final methods of military struggle for the achievement of its ideals. At the same time Byelorussian people showed the excelent level of nationa and civic maturity. It healed the wounds of inflicted losses fast and showed itself capable of true ability to organize, of discipline, and of national solidarity which characterize the nationally mature peoples. The Second All-Byelorussian Congress is the crowning of all these qualities and

achievements of the time.

As the very idea of convoking the Congress, the all-national representation, so its cours and adopted decisions are the events and the documents of first-rate historical importance. They will always be proof of from the best side, of Byelorussian freedomloving people.

Even though the past quarter of the century some of the Second All-Byelorussian Congres was not favorable for the realization of its decision, neverthless we are convinced, that for the future national-political upbringing, struggle and the building of statehood of Byelorussian people, this Congress, beside the First All-Byelorussian Congress of 1917, will have the most excellent role in the newest Byelorussian political history.

We call upon all Byelorussian people to the solem observance of the 25th anniversary of the Second All-Byelorussian Congress in any possible way.

Radaslau Astrauski
President of Byelorussian Central Council
Honorary Member of the Presidium of Congress

Yaukim Kipiel
President of Congress

Leanid Halak
Secretary of Congress

Ivan Kasiak
Vice President of Congress

Members of the Presidium of the Second All-Byelorussian Congress.
New York, May 15, 1969

(*Personal signatures are affixed to separate copies*)

CONCLUSSION

1) THE "SECOND ALL-BYELORUSSIAN CONGRESS" WAS CONVOKED BY GERMANS AS AN ERSATZ FOR THE FIRST ALL-BYELORUSSIAN CONGRESS IN ORDER TO USE BYELORUSSIANS BEFORE THE ADVANCING SOVIET ARMY.

2) B.C.R., IN SHORT, PERFORMED THE SAME ROLE FOR GER-

MANS AS B.S.S.R. FOR RUSSIANS. IN HISTORY THE OCCUPIERS WILL ALWAYS ABUSE OUR PAST COLLABORATION FOR POLITICS, OR POSSIBLE NEW OCCUPATION.

3) WORLD WAR II, POSSIBLE, CREATED GREATER HATRED AMONG BYELORUSSIANS THEMSELVES, THAN AGAINST THE OCCUPIERS.

4) TODAY IN BYELORUSSIA THERE IS NO SYMPATHY TO WHO COOPERATED WITH THE OCCUPIERS.

5) THE FOLLOWERS OF B.C.R. BY WRITING THEIR DISCOURSES ARE MORE PLAYING POLITICS (PERHAPS SOMEONE IS SICK IN THE HEAD, AND THIS IS POSSIBLE) THAN ARE BELIEVING IN THE REALITY AND MEANING OF THEIR DISCOURSES.

6) THE POLITICIANS IN B.S.S.R., AND THE POLITICIANS ABROAD IN THEIR CENTERS ARE SCARING; COLARING THAT WHAT HAS LOST ITS COLOR LONG AGO; THREATENING THOSE WHO ARE BEGINNING TO THINK INDEPENDENTLY. FEAR ALWAYS HAS BIG EYES.

7) ALTHOUGH UNWILLINGLY, BUT ONE HAS TO ASSERT THAT IN ORDER FOR OUR PEOPLE TO THINK SOBERLY, IT IS NEEDED THAT AT LEAST TWO GENERATIONS OF POLITICIANS SHOULD DIE IN B.S.S.R. AND IN EMIGRATION. WHO KNOWS, MAYBE THERE WILL COME NEW OCCUPIERS AND WILL START THE STRUGGLE AMONG BYELORUSSIANS FOR THE FOREIGN INTERESTS.

8) THE YOUTH AND THOSE YOUNG IN SPIRIT ARE THE ONLY HOPE. IN EMIGRATION THIS HOPE IS ALMOST LOST, IN THE OLD FATHERLAND THE SPIRIT OF PATRIOTISM IS SMOULDERING BUT NOT BURNING.

Праўда і няпраўда

Кажуць, што на сьвеце е шмат розных праўдаў і, што галава, то аддзельны розум. І як німа аднаго розуму, так німа аднае праўды, якую-б усе разумелі аднолькова як яна ёсьць. Аднак некаторыя людзі даказваюць, што хаця і ёсьць розныя погляды на Праўду, але нігледзячы на тое, як хто яе разумее — ёсьць між усякіх гэтых поглядаў АДНА і ПРАЎДЗІВАЯ ПРАЎДА, за якую часта і густа змагаюцца тыя людзі, якія абдараныя нейкай незвычайнай інтуіцыяй, „сказаць Праўду ў вочы“, як кажа народная прыказка, хаця яна і коле ў вочы. Нешта падобнае і ў нас Беларусаў зявілася на эміграцыі, аб чым не дагаварвалася да канца, а цяпер прышла пара аб гэтым сказаць, бо ўжо прышлі мы да берага свайго існаваньня, быць самастойнымі і трэба ўзяцца за перамену падобнае сытуацыі, каб стоячы на беразе, не абваліцца, па якіх астануцца толькі „рожкі і ножкі“, гаворачы зноў народнай прыказкай.Гэта не вялікае гэройства сказаць „мая хата з краю...“ і стаяць там на „Акце 25 Сакавіка“ ды чакаць аж паклічуць мяне на становішча прэзыдэнта ці нейкага міністра, а тады „з гонарам“ прыняць такое становішча і зноў стаяць на пасту, як той жаўнер у анэгдоце...

Але хто хоча запраўды служыць Праўдзе з вялікае літары той ня будзе зважаць на тое, што сказаўшы „Праўду ў вочы“ страціць становішча ці прыяцеля, або нейкія асабістыя выгады. Для вышэйшых прынцыпаў Праўды можна і на такі крок пайсьці, бо хто разумее Праўду ПРАЎДЗІВА той не пахваліць таго хто гаворыць няпраўду, і паказваючы на белы колер паперу, кажа, што ён чорны. А ў нас ёсьць і такія мудрацы. Таму Праўду ўжо не так цяжка і распазнаць, бо Праўда наўчае гаварыць скрозь праўду не маніць, а як чалавек маніць дык ён ёсьць абманшчык. Праўда просіць людзей не красьці. — А людзі крадуць. Праўда кажа не забівай. — А людзі ня толькі бюцца але і забіваюць. Праўда навучае каб людзі любіліся між сабою. А людзі ненавідзецца. Праўда кажа людзям кіравацца чэснасьцю і справядлівасьцю. — А людзі кіруюцца ахіднасьцю, подступам, абманам і здрадаю. Праўда просіць жыць у супакою і еднасьці. — А людзі сварацца і дзеляцца на партыі, на групы, на погляды, на ізаляваныя гэтта сваёй непамыльнасьці і г.д. і г.д.

І ва ўсіх тых прыкладах ніхто не скажа і не прызнаецца, што ён ідзе ці дзеіць у супярэчнасьці з Праўдай. Кажд ыпа свояму доказвае сваю праўду і кажды высіляецца паставіць Праўду па свайму баку, ды кажды нават верыць, што Праўда з ім і ў ім. А тымчасам Праўда астаецца там, дзе і была: далёка, далёка ад нас, бож з намі і надалей неадступна ідзе ў ногу ці падручкі — мана, зладзейства, ненавісьць, круцельства, нязгода, здрада.

Хваліцца Праўдаю і калечыць яе, вельмі лёгка. Жыць-жа у згодзе з Праўдаю і бараніць яе — вельмі цяжка. Не сябе, не суродзічаў, не прыяцеляў, што часта не ідуць па Праўдзе, а самую Праўду. Жыць па-праўдзе значыць — гаварыць праўду і выкрываць ману і тых, што хвальшуюць, насілуюць і калечаць Праўду; не рабіць самому зла і выкрываць злачынцаў, нягледзячы хто яны, — брат, сват, сьвятар, прэзыдэнт.

А хто з нас адважыцца на такую ахвяру і выставіць сваё „я“ супроць сваіх аднадумцаў, прыяцеляў, суродзічаў, ці аўтарытэтных чыньнікаў, каб скланіць іх бараніць Праўду? Хто з нас праменяе прыязную усмешку і сціск рукі ўчарашняга прыяцеля, дзеяча, сьвятара ці кліента, каб сказаць яму Праўду ў вочы і далей жыць добра ды служыць Праўдзе, а не сваёй амбіцыі? Хто адмовіцца ад той горкай чаркі, каб служыць сьвятой Праўдзе ды навучаць іншых як ёй служыць і бараніць яе каб на добрым прыкладзе больш узгадоўвалася справядлівых людзей, а не такія распаношваліса ненавісьнікі, што топчуць Праўду.

Няма, або вельмі мала сьмелых людзей, каб сьледам за Праўдаю, прыглядаючыся жыцьцю вышлі на сустрач непраўдзе і сказалі ёй каб зышла з дарогі, якую вытаптала сабе да Беларусаў праз чужыя акупацыі іх роднага краю і, яшчэ іх тут прысьледуе рознымі неадпаведнымі поклічамі на чужыне.

Няма, або вельмі мала, людзей Праўды. Людзі народжаныя ў няволі, выхаваныя тэарэмамі зладзейскіх акупантаў, панявольнікаў, жывуць і думаюць завучанымі ад іх навукамі: не працівіцца, не пратэставаць, супроць агульнага зла, а наадварот — прыстасоўвацца да акружэньня, прыдобрыцца і прысмактацца да тых ад якіх можна атрымаць з панскага стала кусок хлеба.

У цэнтры нашага думаньня не Мы, а Я; не агульнае дабро, не на-

роднае дабро, а я... Непоўнавартаснае і кашмарнае, і толькі „я“.

Няхай нікому, барані Божа, не прыдзе да галавы сказаць праўду, што вучаць да гэтае прыстасаванасьці вядучая інтэлігэнцыя, што яна насільна і дабравольна наймалася і Маскве, і Варшаве за выгады, за становішчы рабіць нагонку прасталюдзьдзя да таго прыстасаваньня, каб было бясклапотна жыць акупантам, бо і ім будзе лепш прыстасаваўшыся да іх завучаных парадкаў, так званага непрадрашэнства.

А як знайдзецца такі, што захоча лецець у будучыню, як той японскі самагубец, што ўміраў разам з накіраваным летаком на назначаны аб'ект — дык няхай леціць на зламаньне карку, абы іх была хата скраю, нашто ім народная справа, якая мала аплатная, так званая Вялікая Беларусь ці Малая.

Так было раней на Беларусі, так яно ёсьць і цяпер на нашай былой Бацькаўшчыне, паняволенай сягоньня. Ды тут на чужыне, інтэлігэнцыя не з народу, а супроць яго, бо падзяліўшы яго на угрупаваньня — нішчыць і робіць нагонку да самагубства ня горш ці лепш ад тых, што падобным спосабам займаюцца цяперашнія нагоншчыкі там у БССР, каб зусім нестала Беларуса, хаця і быў прагалошаны Акт 25 Сакавіка, а тут так шумна яшчэ там-сям спамінаецца аб ім на штогодных акадэміях. Наследкі ачавідныя. Там мінулае развальваюць і паляць, а сучаснае русыфікуюць, тут — унутранаю барацьбою дэнацыналізуюць, што чужынцам з усіх бакоў на руку. А гэта таму, што там і тут шмат розных канюктуршчыкаў, якія займаюцца народнай справай тады, як з яе маюць карысьці, а не дзейнічаюць з любові да свайго народу ў службе Праўдзе і Справядлівасьці.

Даніла з пад клецка

РЭЗОРТ БЭЛ-ЭР МЕНСК — ФАКТЫ

Посьле апошняга гадавога сходу карпарацыі Бэл-Эр Менск, у студзені гэтага года, быў пасланы ліст да Голдман Эйджэнсі, які быў, як страховы агент для нашай карпарацыі. Хацелася сьцьвердзіць, што здарылася, што мы не маем страховак. Чырвоным чарнілам па белай паперы было напісана: страхоўкі былі адмоўлены па той прычыне, што дырэкцыя не заплаціла суму грошай, якія павінны былі аплаціць страхоўкі.

Той, хто маіць гадавыя справаздачы нашай карпарацыі, зьвярніце ўвагу на другую бачыну: сэкурыты дэпазіт (банк трымаў частку нашых грошай).

1966 год — 2, 243.00 даляры
1967 год — 2, 856.46 даляраў
1968 год — 3, 949.83 даляры
1969 год — 0, 727.22 даляры

Як бачыце, паны „кангрэсовага камітэта", амаль із чатырох тысяч, якія вы пераняли ад папярэдняй адміністрацыі, вы зьехалі на 727 даляраў і 22 цэнты. Гэта значыць, банк пачаў ужываць грошы із рэзэрву, які трымаўся шэсьць год.

А вось йшчэ адзін прыклад, „мае дарагія кангрэсоўцы", як вы нарабілі даўгоў у 1967 г.

> 6,373 дал. 91 цэнт, ёсьць найбольшая задоўжанасьць, за ўсе гады, тым кампаніям якія давалі нашаму рэзорту абслугу.

За два гады, вы панізілі вартасьць нашых укладаў наступна:

1967 год — 6,373 дал. 91 цэнт
1969 год — 4,856 дал. 90 цэнтаў
Усяго 11,230 дал. 81 цэнтаў

Згодна із справаздач, за пяць год, вартасьць нашых шэраў пані-

зілась на 5,372 дал. 84 цэнты, як бачыце, за два гады вы напаскудзілі два разы больш, чым астатнія за пяць год.

Нехта можыць сказаць, што справаздачы рабіліся нядобра. Зусім магчыма. Тады хочыцца запытаць: чамуж вы недавалі магчымасьці праверыць усе дакумэнты карпарацыі?

А вось, што сьцьвердзіла рэвізыйная камісія, у 1969 годзе, пра даход у працантах, за алькагольныя напіткі:

1967 год — 43% даходу
1968 год — 48% даходу
1969 год — 38% даходу

Калі памятаіце, у 1968 годзе прэзыдэнтам карпарацыі і мэнаджарам быў зусім новы чалавек. Год пазьней алкаголь звычайна даражэіць, чамуж тады працант даходу у 1968 годзе быў большы, як у 1967 годзе.

У 1967—1969 гадах гаспадарылі людзі „кангрэсовага камітэта“, якія больш, як дзесяць год гаспадарацьу Саўт Рывэру. Само па сабе, напрашваецца пытаньне, як гэтыя людзі будуць гаспадарыць у новым Грамадзкім цэнтры ў Саўт Рывэры, дзе будзіць бар, заля. Тут праўдападобна будзіць лепш, прыхажане заплацяць усё, горад ня будзіць браць падаткаў.

На маё запытаньне, да справаздачы, на апошнім агульным сходзе карпарацыі, які капітальны рамонт быў зроблены ў 1969 годзе, сп. Мерляк адказаў, што ня было аніякага капітальнага рамонта. Калі я паказаў, што лікі ёсьць розныя прошлага і гэтага года, тады гэты зазнайка пачаў нэрвова размахваць рукамі; дый гаварыць такую глупасьць, што я больш не захацеў настайваць, каб быў дадзен правільны адказ. У такіх выпадках, мае дарагія Беларусы, непатрэбна маўчаць, а дапамагаць.

Пагроза Мерляка, што ён перадасьць рэзорт вэтэранам ёсьць сон глупого дыктатора. Тут не Савецкі Саюз дый не гітляроўская акупацыя. Калі большасьць укладчыкаў пагодзіцца перадаць наш Менск, як падарак для некага, тады тым, што ня згодзяцца трэба будзіць зьвярнуць грошы, дый у свой час.

1969 год быў годам маральнага ўпадку, для нашай арганізацыі,

які пацягнуў за сабою матар'яльны бок. Дырэкцыя 1969 года вытлумачваіць так: дажджлівая пагода была асноўны віноўнік упадку маральнага і матар'яльнага стану нашай арганізацыі. Паны дырэктары, хіба патрэбна была лепшая пагода, якая была на дзень працы (Лэйбар дэй). Больш пустой залі ня было за ўсе шэсьць год, як восень 1969 года. У гэтыя дні звычаіна не далезіш дзе гарэлку прадаюць, на залі цяжка столік знайсьці, колькі людзей стаіць у парозе, затое, што заля ёсьць запоўнена. Добры гаспадар прадбачваіць усякія неспадзеўкі ад пагоды.

ВЫСНАЎ

Калі арганізацыя перастаець служыць для дабра людзей, тады яна перастаець функцыянаваць, як арганізацыя, дый банкрутуіць. Тады віноўнымі ёсьць: пагода, пара года і. г. д., а не касякоўшчына, стасяўшчына, лапіччына, дый ня іхныя тупалобыя пасьлядоўцы. Дыктатура і карупцыя — заўсёды вельмі блізкія сябры.

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